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| INFO | LOG-00 | AMAD-01 | CIAE-00 | CPR-02 | OASY-00 | DODE-00 | DOEE-00 |
| | EUR-01 | H-01 | TEDE-00 | INR-00 | IO-16 | JUSE-00 | L-01 |
| | ADS-00 | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 | OIC-02 | OMB-01 | PA-01 | PM-00 |
| | PRS-01 | P-01 | SNP-00 | SP-00 | SSO-00 | SS-00 | TRSE-00 |
| | T-00 | USIE-00 | PMB-00 | DRL-09 | G-01 | /039R | |

DRAFTED BY: AF/E:CSWILSON:ACW

APPROVED BY: D:STALBOTT

AF:GEMOOSE

D:JWITHERS

S/S:WLNESBITT

S/S-O:SEISENBRAUN

AF/C:KAISTON (INFO)

AF/E:DSHINN (INFO)

EUR/WE:ACARSON (INFO)

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TO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ASMARA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 170607

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, UG, SU RW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S MEETING WITH ACTING
SECRETARY TALBOTT

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN A JUNE 22 MEETING WITH ACTING SECRETARY
OF STATE STROBE TALBOTT, UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI
OUTLINED A POTENTIAL POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR RWANDA. HE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 25 JUN 2015
DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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REPEATED HIS RESERVATIONS ABOUT FRENCH INTENTIONS, BUT SAID HE HAD BEEN "CONVERTED" TO THE NEED FOR A SHORT-TERM FRENCH HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE RPF TO ACQUIESCE.

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[REDACTED] THERE WAS A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN SUDAN, AND MUSEVENI EXPOUNDED HIS THEORY OF IMPEDIMENTS TO DEMOCRATIC STABILITY IN AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

3. UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI MET WITH ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TALBOTT FOR 30 MINUTES ON JUNE 22. MUSEVENI WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER SSEMOGERERE, FINANCE MINISTER MYANJA-NKANGI, AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.

KATENTA-APULI, AND PROTOCOL CHIEF STEPHEN NABEETA. U.S. PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED ASSISTANT SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE, AMBASSADOR JOHNNIE CARSON, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY JOHN WITHERS, AND UGANDA DESK OFFICER (NOTETAKER).

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RWANDA

4. MUSEVENI OUTLINED HIS VIEW OF A POTENTIAL "POWER-SHARING" SOLUTION TO THE RWANDAN CRISIS. HE DESCRIBED THE THREE BROAD FACTIONS WHICH, IN HIS VIEW, HOLD THE KEY TO RWANDA'S FUTURE: SOUTHERN HUTUS (I.E., THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION LED BY PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU); THE TUTSIS, IN THE FORM OF THE RPF; AND NORTHERN HUTUS (I.E., THOSE MOST DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT ATROCITIES). "I HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH THE RPF LINKING UP WITH THE SOUTHERN HUTUS," SAID MUSEVENI. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE NORTHERN HUTUS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE BROUGHT IN TO A GOVERNING STRUCTURE, BUT ONLY AFTER INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRES HAD BEEN SCREENED OUT AND NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE NORTHERN FACTION HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED. "THEN THESE THREE GROUPS CAN BECOME POLITICAL BUILDING BLOCKS." MUSEVENI SAID HE COULD ALSO ENVISION A MERGING OF "RWANDA'S TWO ARMIES" -- THE RPA AND THE GOVERNMENT ARMY.

5. RESPONDING TO THE ACTING SECRETARY'S QUESTION ABOUT THE FRENCH INITIATIVE FOR HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN

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RWANDA, MUSEVENI SAID THAT THE RPF WAS AFRAID THIS WOULD
"ALLOW THE OLD GROUP TO REMAIN IN POWER." THIS POLITICAL
ANGLE MUST BE CONSIDERED, HE INSISTED. THE ACTING
SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER MUSEVENI SHARED THE RPF'S VIEW ON
THIS QUESTION. MUSEVENI HEDGED. BUT SAID FINALLY THAT HIS
SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE HAD
"CONVERTED ME" TO THE VIEW THAT, IF THE FRENCH GO IN UNDER
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A NARROWLY DEFINED UN MANDATE, "IT WON'T BE A PROBLEM."

6. THE ACTING SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT THE IMMEDIATE
ISSUE IS TO STOP THE KILLING, WHICH IS WHY WE HAVE
CAUTIOUSLY SUPPORTED THE FRENCH INITIATIVE.

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MUSEVENI RESPONDED THAT HE HAD
HEARD ON JUNE 21 THAT "KAGAME SAYS HE WON'T OPPOSE" THE
FRENCH EFFORT, BUT THAT THE RPF DID NOT PLAN TO MAKE A

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT TO THAT EFFECT.

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9. AT AMBASSADOR CARSON'S SUGGESTION, MUSEVENI BRIEFLY OUTLINED HIS VIEWS ON SOUTHERN SUDAN. THE PROBLEM OF SUDAN WAS THAT KHARTOUM IS PUSHING AN ARAB/ISLAMIC IDENTITY ON A MULTI-ETHNIC AND MULTI-RELIGIOUS COUNTRY. MUSEVENI SAID HE IS CONVINCED THAT AFRICANS AND ARABS IN SUDAN CAN LIVE IN UNITY PROVIDED THAT THERE IS EQUALITY. BUT KHARTOUM HAS NOT PERMITTED EQUALITY, AND THUS A WAR HAS BEEN FOUGHT SINCE 1955. KHARTOUM HAS CHOSEN WAR OVER PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THEREFORE, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE AGGRESSOR'S ENEMY (THE SPLA) TO ARM ITSELF AND FIGHT BACK.

IMPEDIMENTS TO DEMOCRATIC STABILITY IN AFRICA

10. EARLIER IN THE MEETING, MUSEVENI EXPOUNDED HIS PHILOSOPHY ON THE ROOTS OF AFRICA'S CURRENT UNREST. HE DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THREE "STRUCTURAL" IMPEDIMENTS TO AFRICA'S LONG-TERMS STABILITY: A "BACKWARD" AND INCOMPLETELY EVOLVED SOCIAL STRUCTURE WHICH IS EASILY MANIPULATED BY MALEVOLENT POLITICAL FORCES; DISTORTION OF POLITICAL POWER DUE TO COLONIAL INFLUENCES, PARTICULARLY THE FAILURE TO TRAIN AFRICANS IN LEADERSHIP; AND GREAT POWER MANIPULATION OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES DURING THE COLD

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WAR. MUSEVENI SAID THAT, IN UGANDA, THE SECOND PROBLEM HAD BEEN RESOLVED AS A RESULT OF THE SUCCESSES OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, BUT FURTHER PROGRESS IN ESTABLISHING DEMOCRACY WOULD BE IMPEDED BY THE ABSENCE OF EVOLVED SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES.

11. THE ACTING SECRETARY, CITING BOSNIA AND RWANDA ASKED MUSEVENI WHETHER A FOURTH FACTOR WERE AT PLAY: TRIBALISM. HOW COULD THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS DEAL WITH THIS FACTOR? MUSEVENI DISMISSED THE CONNECTION BETWEEN TRIBALISM AND INSTABILITY. POINTING TO SOMALIA, WHOSE LEGENDARY INSTABILITY HAD ARISEN DESPITE ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS HOMOGENEITY. BY THE SAME TOKEN, UGANDA NOW HAS

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PEACE DESPITE ITS COMPLEX ETHNIC DYNAMICS. "I TRY TO MAKE UGANDANS SEE THAT TRIBALISM IS BACKWARDS," HE SAID. MUSEVENI DID NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT TRUE STABILITY COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MIDDLE CLASS WHICH HAD "A VESTED INTEREST IN INTEGRATION." UGANDA WAS WORKING TOWARDS THIS BY IMPLEMENTING SOUND ECONOMIC POLICIES.

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12. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER

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